

Message Text

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SUBJECT: US POLICY TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF AN ARTICLE BY DAVID BINDER WHICH
APPEARED IN APRIL 6 NEW YORK TIMES UNDER TITLE" A
MODIFIED SOVIET BLOC IS AVOWED AS U.S. POLICY".

1. BEGIN TEXT: DATELINED WASHINGTON, APRIL 5 - HELMUT
SONNENFELDT, SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER'S CHIEF
ADVISER, IS SAID TO HAVE TOLD AMERICAN AMBASSADORS IN
EUROPE THAT IT IS IN THE LONG-TERM INTEREST OF THE UNITED
STATES TO ENCOURAGE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO DEVELOP
"A MORE NATURAL AND ORGANIC" RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET
UNION, ACCORDING TO AN OFFICIAL BUT NONVERBATIM, SUMMARY
OF HIS REMARKS.

2. THE SUMMARY, MADE AVAILABLE TODAY TO THE NEW YORK
TIMES, HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF CONTROVERSY FOR TWO WEEKS
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AS A RESULT OF VARIOUS VERSIONS DISCLOSED BY THE PRESS.

3. IT WAS DRAFTED WHEN MR. SONNENFELDT, THE STATE DEPARTMENT COUNSELOR, ADDRESSED A LONDON MEETING OF AMBASSADORS

IN MID-DECEMBER AND THEN DISTRIBUTED TO THEM IN THE FORM OF A CABLEGRAM FROM WASHINGTON AS A MEMORANDUM LAST FEB.12.

4. "WITH REGARD TO EASTERN EUROPE," THE MEMORANDUM SAYS, "IT MUST BE IN OUR LONG-TERM INTEREST TO INFLUENCE EVENTS IN THIS AREA -- BECAUSE OF THE PRESENT UNNATURAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION -- SO THAT THEY WILL NOT SOONER OR LATER EXPLODE, CAUSING WORLD WAR III. THIS INORGANIC, UNNATURAL RELATIONSHIP IS A FAR GREATER DANGER TO WORLD PEACE THAN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST."

5. HE THEN ENTERED A QUALIFICATION, SAYING THAT IF WESTERN EUROPE TURNED INWARD IN PREOCCUPATION WITH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS, IT COULD CAUSE A SHIFT IN THE POWER BALANCE INIMICAL TO AMERICAN INTERESTS. CONTINUING ON THE EAST EUROPEAN THEME, THE SUMMARY SAID: "SO, OUR POLICY MUST BE A POLICY OF RESPONDING TO THE CLEARLY VISIBLE ASPIRATIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE FOR A MORE AUTONOMOUS EXISTENCE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A STRONG SOVIET GEOPOLITICAL INFLUENCE."

6. THE SONNENFELDT VIEWS ON UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE, AS ORIGINALLY SUMMARIZED, HAVE SINCE BEEN MODIFIED BY MR. KISSINGER IN A PUBLIC STATEMENT AND ALSO IN A NEW SET OF CABLEGRAMS SENT LAST WEEK TO THE AMERICAN EMBASSIES IN EUROPE.

7. IN THE SUMMARY, MR. SONNENFELDT WAS DESCRIBED AS HAVING DEVELOPED HIS THESIS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE SOVIET UNION'S PRESENT RELATIONSHIP WITH ITS EAST EUROPEAN ALLIES WAS UNNATURAL AND POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE.

8. "SOVIET IS TERMED INEPT" - AFTER DECLARING THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS IN THE PROCESS OF "EMERGENCE AS A SUPER-POWER ON A GLOBAL SCALE," THE SUMMARY SAID "THE SOVIET UNCLASSIFIED

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UNION HAS BEEN INEPT" IN ATTEMPTING TO BECOME EITHER AN ATTRACTIVE OR EFFECTIVE IMPERIAL POWER. THE SUMMARY CONTINUED:

9. "THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY UNSKILLED IN BUILDING VIABLE INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURES. THEY HAVE NOTHING APPROACHING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OR THE MANY OTHER SUCCESSFUL WESTERN INSTITUTIONS. IN EASTERN EUROPE,

PARTICULARLY, THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT UNIFYING FORCE IS THE PRESENCE OF SHEER SOVIET MILITARY POWER. THERE HAS BEEN NO DEVELOPMENT OF A MORE VIABLE, ORGANIC STRUCTURE."

10. THE PASSAGE THAT SAID MR. SONNENFELDT HAD SPOKEN OF AN "ORGANIC UNION" BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE EAST EUROPEANS WAS THE ONE THAT HE SAID LATER HAD BEEN DISTORTED IN A NEWSPAPER COLUMN BY ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT NOVAK.

11. MR. KISSINGER, IN A STATEMENT BEFORE THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE ON MARCH 29, ALSO MODIFIED THIS LANGUAGE, SAYING:

12. "WHAT THE EVOLUTION OF POLICY SHOULD BE IS THAT IT RETURN -- AND HE USED AN UNFORTUNATE WORD - TO A MORE 'ORGANIC' RELATIONSHIP. WHAT HE MEANT WAS A MORE HISTORIC RELATIONSHIP, A RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOT SO PREDOMINANT."

13. THE SUMMARY REPORTED MR. SONNENFELDT AS HAVING SAID:

14. "ANY EXCESS OF ZEAL ON OUR PART IS BOUND TO PRODUCE RESULTS THAT COULD REVERSE THE DESIRED PROCESS FOR A PERIOD OF TIME, EVEN THOUGH THE PROCESS WOULD REMAIN INEVITABLE WITHIN THE NEXT 100 YEARS.

15. "SO OUR POLICY MUST BE A POLICY OF RESPONDING TO THE CLEARLY VISIBLE ASPIRATIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE FOR A MORE AUTONOMOUS EXISTENCE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A STRONG SOVIET GEOPOLITICAL INFLUENCE."

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16. MR. SONNENFELDT REPORTEDLY SAID "THIS HAS WORKED IN POLAND" AND TO A DEGREE ALSO IN HUNGARY. THE SUMMARY THEN SAID:

17. "WE SEEK TO INFLUENCE THE EMERGENCE OF THE SOVIET IMPERIAL POWER BY MAKING THE BASE MORE NATURAL AND ORGANIC, SO THAT IT WILL NOT REMAIN FOUNDED IN SHEER POWER ALONE, BUT THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE OPEN TO US OTHER THAN THAT OF INFLUENCING THE WAY SOVIET POWER IS USED."

18. FINALLY, THE SONNENFELDT SUMMARY INSISTED THAT IT WAS A UNITED STATES POLICY INTEREST (BORDERING ON THE VITAL") THAT YUGOSLAVIA REMAIN INDEPENDENT OF THE SOVIET UNION. HE ADDED: ;SO WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN WHEN TITO DISAPPEARS, AND IT IS WORRYING US A LOT."

.9. THE SONNENFELDT VIEWS BECAME FODDER FOR THE
PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CAMPAIGN LAST WEEK AND THIS WEEK.
RONALD REAGAN, WHO IS SEEKING THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION,
DENOUNCED MR. SONNENFELDT DURING A TELEVISION SPEECH
LAST WEEK. ON FRIDAY, IN A SPEECH IN MILWAUKEE, PRESI-
DENT FORD ALSO SPOKE ON EAST EUROPE POLICY, IMPLICITLY
DISASSOCIATING HIMSELF FROM THE SONNENFELDT VIEW. END
TEXT. KISSINGER

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